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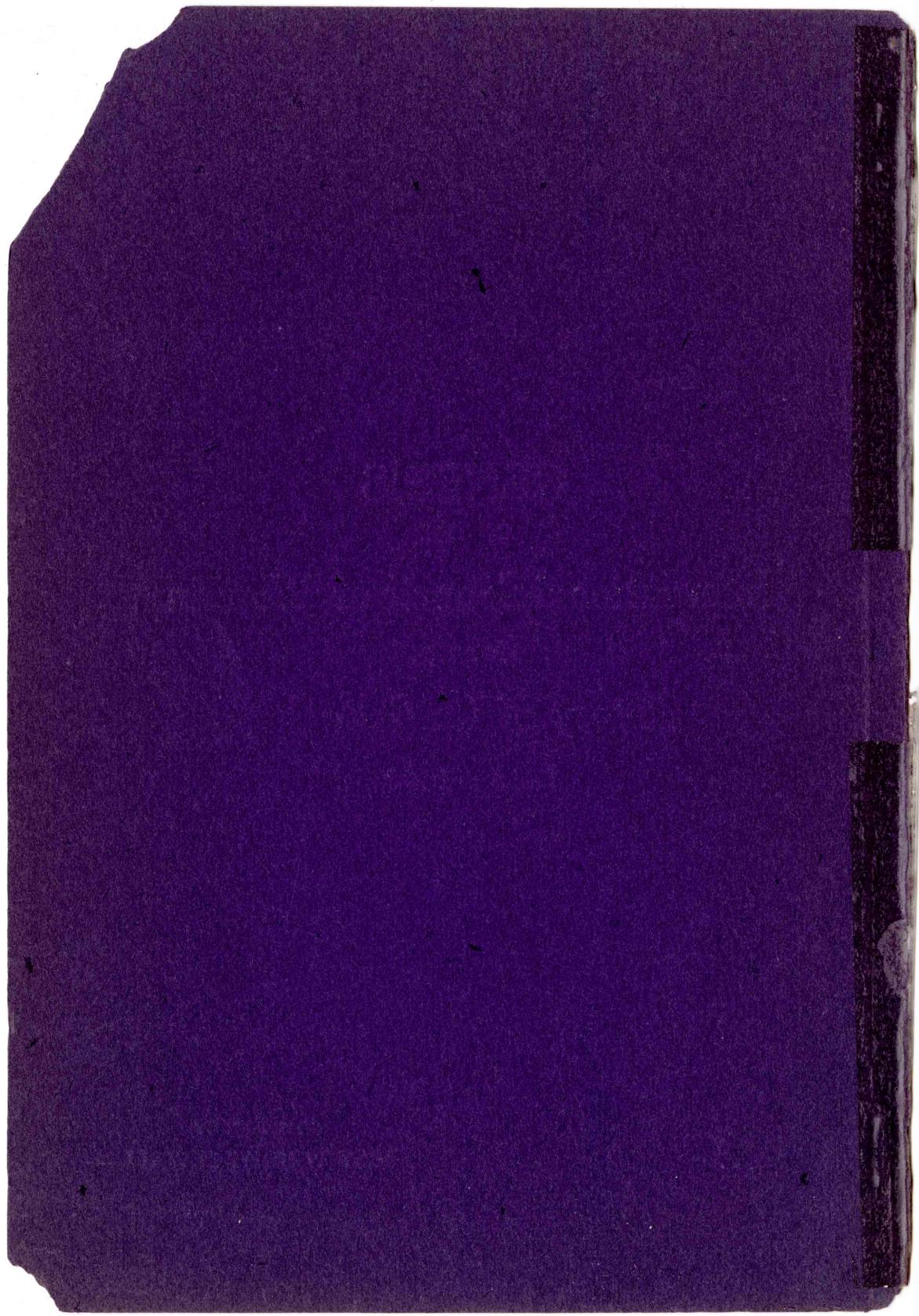
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GENESIS
OF THE
International Council of Women
AND THE
Story of its Growth

1888—1893

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no. 1.

COMPILED BY
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL



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OF THE
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83954
May 24, 1919

COMPILER'S NOTE

This brochure has been compiled for the information of members of the International Council of Women, and more particularly for that of the successive official and executive boards of the Council.

It is, however, believed that it will prove of value to students not connected with the Council, who are interested in that sociological progress which is secured by associated effort.

This is a historical record, compiled solely from the published official records of the National Council of Women of the United States (From 1888 to 1894); the official correspondence of the first President with the first Corresponding Secretary of that Council; the published record of the International Congress of Women convened in Paris in 1899; the official records of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893; from similar original records, published and unpublished, of the World's Congress of Representative Women, including the First Quinquennial session of the International Council of Women, held in Chicago May 18 and 22, 1893, and from contemporary diaries.

It will be remembered by all in attendance upon the Second Quinquennial of the I. C. W., held in London in 1899, that embarrassment was experienced through the absence of any published history of the first five years of the Council, as well as by the absence of an accurate record of its First Quinquennial. Various propositions for removing or abating this embarrassment were made, and reference to pages 83-84 of the volume entitled "Report of Council Transactions," edited by the Countess of Aberdeen in 1899, will show that the following resolu-

83954
May 24, 1919.

tion introduced by Miss Anthony, and seconded by Mme. Klerck Van Hogendorp (with a rider introduced by Lady Laura Ridding, in no way affecting the original resolution), was carried unanimously:

"That a committee consisting only of official members present at the last Quinquennial Meeting be formed to have minutes printed as a permanent record of the proceedings of the first meeting of the International Council. This record to be signed by the then officers* of the International Council who were present."

Mrs. Sewall, having been the acting President of the I. C. W. during the last half of the First Quinquennium, and in that capacity (supported by the request of Miss Clara Barton, the Vice-President-elect of the I. C. W.), having presided over the First Quinquennial of the Council in 1893, agreed to see that such a historical record should be prepared and published.

At that time all of the officials of the International Council who had acted during the First Quinquennial with one of the two presidents of the National Council of Women of U. S. A., who successively had been the acting presidents of the International Council from its organization in 1888, were living.*

Through conference and correspondence it was agreed that Mrs. Sewall should write the history of the first Quinquennium of the Council, with such help and advice as the women indicated should respectively be able to give.

Mrs. Sewall promised, and intended to prepare such a volume immediately. No appropriation had been made,

*Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President American Council, Acting President I. C. W.; Miss Clara Barton, Vice-President I. C. W.; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary I. C. W.; Mme. Isabelle Bogelot, Treasurer I. C. W.

*Frances E. Willard, the first President of the American Council, had died in 1898.

however, for its publication. This fact added to the heavy work involved in her presidency of the Council from 1899 to 1904 made it practically impossible, as it has since continued to be to do the desired work.

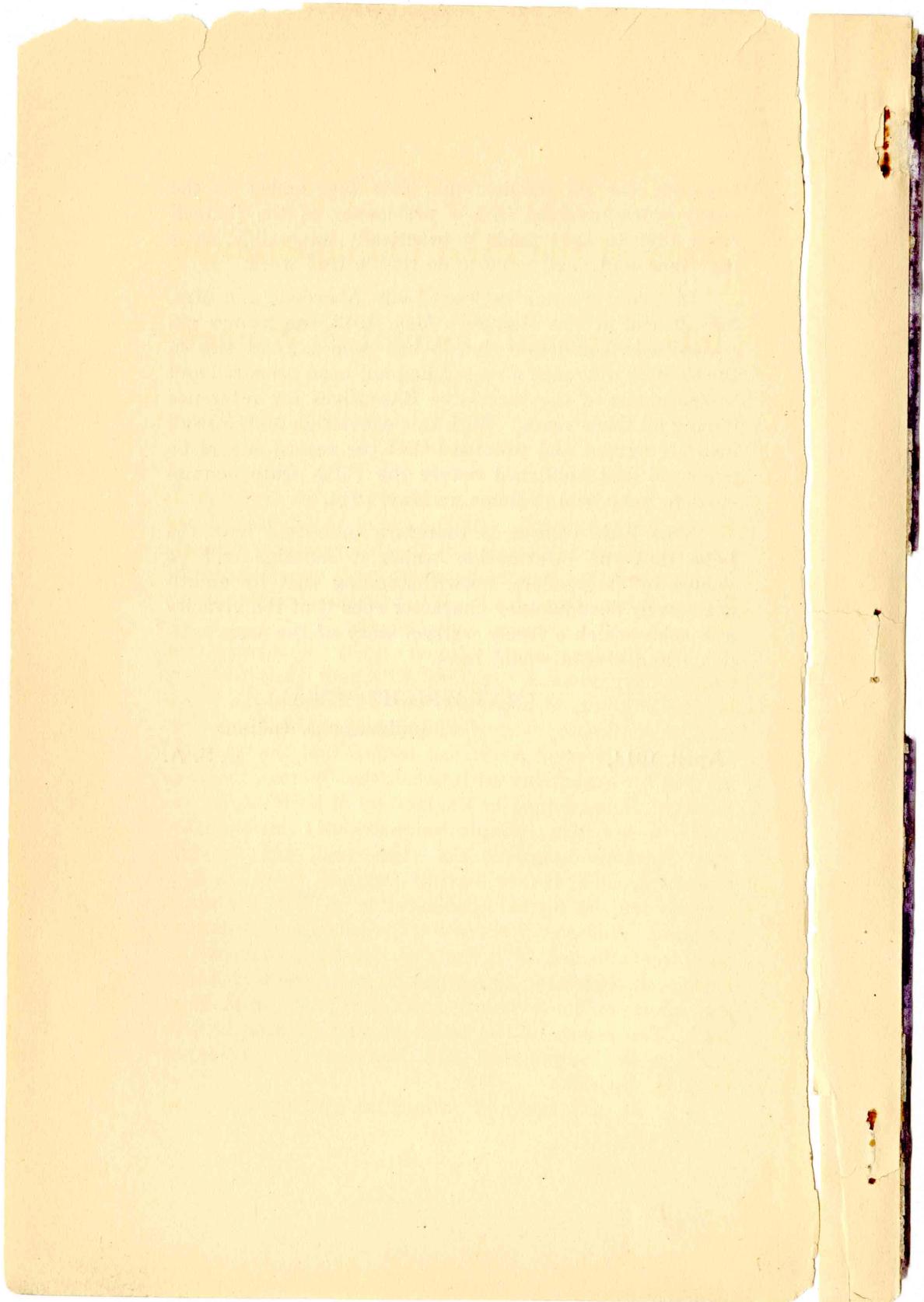
In a conversation between Lady Aberdeen and Mrs. Sewall held at The Hague in May, 1913, the former expressed her conviction that it has been a great loss to the Council that such a record had not been prepared and in the hands of the successive Executives for reference during all these years. With this conviction Mrs. Sewall heartily agreed and promised that the record should be prepared and published before the Fifth Quinquennial session, to be held in Rome, in May, 1914.

This little volume is therefore submitted with the hope that the information which it contains will be valued by its readers, notwithstanding that its almost exclusively documentary character robs it of the vivacity and color which a freely written story of the same incidents and events would have.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

April, 1914,

U. S. A.



Story of the First Quinquennium of the International Council of Women

PART I

Its Genesis.

In proportion to the complexity of an organism is its Genesis interesting. On the eve of the opening of the fifth Quinquennial Session of the International Council, it is natural that inquiries concerning it should multiply. *Where, When, How, Under What Circumstances and By Whom was it Conceived and Launched?*

The International Council finely illustrates the evolutionary process. In 1882 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, having enjoyed, in a partial tour of Europe, the privilege of conference with distinguished publicists and reformers of different countries, decided that the time had arrived for organizing an International Woman Suffrage Society. Being joined in England by Miss Susan B. Anthony, to her Mrs. Stanton communicated this thought; Miss Anthony approved the suggestion, and the two friends decided, before leaving England, to call a conference for the formal consideration of Mrs. Stanton's proposal. However, an occasion for announcing this purpose was afforded by a Suffrage meeting, convened at Liverpool, November 15th, 1883, to pay these two American pioneers honor before their departure from England. The report of the action of that evening is here given in the language of Mrs. Margaret E. Parker, of Penketh, Scotland:

“At a large and influential gathering of the

friends of woman suffrage, at Parliament Terrace, Liverpool, November 16, 1883, convened by E. Whittle, M. D., to meet Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony prior to their return to America, a resolution was proposed by Mrs. Margaret E. Parker, of Penketh (near Warrington), seconded by Mrs. McLaren, of Edinburgh, and unanimously passed, as follows:

“ ‘Resolved, That this meeting, recognizing that union is strength and that the time has come when women all over the world should unite in the just demand for their political enfranchisement; therefore,

“ ‘Resolved, That we do here appoint a committee of correspondence, preparatory to forming an International Woman Suffrage Association;

“ ‘Resolved, That the committee consists of the following friends, with power to add to their number:

“ ‘For the American Center—Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Miss Rachel G. Foster.

“ ‘London Center—Mrs. Peter E. Taylor, Mrs. Margaret B. Lucas, Miss Helen Taylor, Miss Henrietta Muller, Miss Caroline A. Biggs, Mr. and Mrs. Charles McLaren, Miss Eliza Orme, Miss Rebecca Moore, London, and Mrs. Harriett Stanton Blatch, Basingstoke.

“ ‘Manchester Center—Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright, Manchester; Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, and Mr. and Mrs. Crook, Bolton; Mrs. Margaret E. Parker, Penketh; Dr. and Mrs. Whittle, Mrs. Phillips, Mr. Berners and Mr. Russell, Liverpool; Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Leeds; Mr. and Mrs. Walter McLaren, Bradford; Miss Becker, Manchester.

“ ‘Bristol Center—Miss Helen Bright, Mrs. Alfred Ostler, Birmingham; Miss Priestman, Bristol.

“ ‘Center for Scotland—Mrs. Duncan McLaren, Mrs. Elizabeth Pease Nichol, Miss Eliza Wigham, Edinburgh.

" 'Center for Ireland—Miss Tod, Belfast; Mrs. Haslan, Dublin.

" 'Center for France—Mlle Hubertine Auclert, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Stanton, Charlotte B. Wilbour, Paris.'

It will be seen that the committee thus immediately formed in the Autumn of '83 comprised forty-one men and women representing England, Ireland, Scotland, France and the United States of America; however, the committee thus named was never organized; indeed it was never convened.

The published *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association* of U. S. A., held March, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 1884, shows that an effort had been made by the Executive committee of this Association to keep in touch with the European members of the International committee formed at Liverpool. Mrs. May Wright Sewall was the chairman of the Executive committee of the N. W. S. A. at this time and in the absence abroad of the corresponding secretary the preparations for the annual convention were necessarily largely in her hands. Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony both advised Mrs. Sewall of the action that had been taken at Liverpool and all the European members of the committee there formed were invited to attend the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the N. W. S. A. in Washington.

The report of this meeting includes letters from Miss Becker, Miss Caroline A. Biggs, Mrs. Jacob Bright, Miss Frances Lord, Mrs. Margaret B. Lucas, Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, Miss Rebecca Moore, Miss Henrietta Muller, Miss Eliza Orme, Mrs. Margaret E. Parker, Miss Priestman, Mr. and Mrs. Peter E. Taylor, Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Miss Isabella M. S. Tod, and Mrs. Whittle.

These letters show great unanimity of feeling that the time had arrived for international action in respect to the claim by women for equal political rights, and two

of them express so clearly the world consciousness that is indispensable to successful international action, that they are quoted here as only a just recognition of that greatness of mind which indicates the advanced outposts that had been taken by their writers as early as 1884.

75 Botanic View, University, Road,
Belfast, Ireland,
Feb. 19, 1884.

“My Dear Miss Anthony:

“I am very sorry that I have been so long detained from answering your kind letter. Nevertheless, I hope this will reach you in time to let me send my most cordial good wishes for the success of your Woman Suffrage Convention.

“You know, as I told you when you were here, how strongly I feel that the cause of justice to women is the cause of religion and morality all the world over. It is my deep anxiety for the success of temperance, for the purification of the statutes of the realm, and of social customs which are so greatly affected by the law, for the advance of education, and for the bringing of God’s law of justice and truth into all the public as well as the private affairs of the people, that made me feel it to be my duty to take the lead here in the agitation for Woman Suffrage. And, notwithstanding external differences of surroundings, I am very sure that the same solemn and great ends are those which stimulate multitudes of women in America to claim their just share in the government of their country. I hope, and I believe, that victory cannot be far off; and when that time comes it will be another uniting link between the two great nations to which we belong.

“Yours most truly,
“ISABELLA M. S. TOD.”

"La Citoyenne," 12 Rue Cail, Paris,
Feb. 17, 1884.

"Dear and Distinguished Friend:*

"I rejoice at the victory which you have just gained in Washington Territory. America will soon be, through your efforts, a true land of freedom for all humanity. Your success gives us renewed courage here in France. We keep up the good fight, but, if we except a few moral gains, we are still far from the goal. In our impatience to throw off man's despotic yoke we stretch our hands to you, O sisters almost enfranchised. We call upon you to come to our aid, as your countrymen, a century ago, besought France to help them escape the subjection of England. Will you not come to our help as Lafayette and his legion flew to yours? You are fitted to act as liberators. As veterans of the cause you should take the initiative in calling together, at Paris, capital of the world, a Universal Congress in favor of Woman Suffrage. Such a congress could not but have a great influence on public opinion, and would powerfully aid the movement for woman's emancipation throughout the whole world.

"I submit this suggestion to the consideration of the convention, and I beg of you to accept for the American suffragists, and for yourself, distinguished friend, my warmest expression of sincere admiration.

"HUBERTINE AUCLEERT."

Besides letters from the members of the committee above named valuable ones were received for this convention (1884) from Frances Power Cobbe, Jane Cobden, Ellen Dana Conway, Fannie Dickinson, Mary A. Estlin, Florence Kelly, Rosamond Dale Owen, Ernestine L. Rose, Leon Richer, Ellen Clark Sargent, Elizabeth Sargent, Alfred Steinthal, and Margaret A. Tanner, who were not

*This letter was also addressed to Miss Anthony.

members of the committee.

Unhappily no printed reports of the annual Washington Suffrage Convention of the years '85, '86 and '87 can be found; but from letters and diaries (*The History of Woman Suffrage*, by Mmes. Stanton, Anthony and Gage) it is known that the next public reference to Mrs. Stanton's plan for calling an International Woman Suffrage Congress, proposed by her in 1882 and confirmed by Mrs. Margaret E. Parker's resolution, was made in Washington, D. C., in January, 1887, when Miss Anthony explained it at the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the N. W. S. A. All the older women, or pioneer suffragettes, at first desired the proposed international meeting to be limited to the advocacy of equal political rights. The younger women of that period, who belonged to women's clubs, to the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and to various other progressive movements in which conservative women and even anti-suffragists were associated with them, wished the plan to be extended to include workers along all lines of human progress, and Mrs. May Wright Sewall introduced the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the National Woman Suffrage Association, to celebrate the approaching fortieth anniversary of the first meeting called in behalf of equal rights for women (at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in the year 1848), shall convene an International Council of women to which women workers in all lines of social, intellectual, moral or civil progress and reform shall be invited, whether they be advocates of the ballot or opposed to woman suffrage.”

At the close of a lengthy discussion, in which it was pointed out:

First: That many organizations of women still holding aloof from suffrage owed their very existence to the changes in public opinion, and in law wrought by the suffragists; and

Second: That in many countries the ballot is not recognized as an instrument of legitimate power in the hands of either men or women.

Mrs. Sewall's resolution was passed after having been modified by Miss Anthony and others so that in its final form it stood thus:

"Resolved, That the National Woman Suffrage Association of the U. S. A. shall celebrate the approaching fortieth anniversary of the first meeting ever held in behalf of an extension of women's rights by convening an International Council of women to which all associations of women in the trades, professions and moral reforms, as well as those advocating the political emancipation of women, shall be invited."

With this resolution two others were adopted, the first of which placed the whole financial burden upon the National Woman Suffrage Association, while the second entrusted the preparations for the meeting to the Executive committee of the same society.

FIRST PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF IMMEDIATE PURPOSE

Under date of June 1, 1887, the committee issued the following call:

"The first organized demand for equal educational, industrial, professional and political rights for women was made in a convention held at Seneca Falls, N. Y. (U. S. A.), in the year 1848.

"To celebrate the fortieth anniversary of this event an International Council of Women will be convened under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage Association, in Albaugh's Opera House, Washington, D. C., on March 25, 1888.

"It is impossible to over-estimate the far-reaching influence of such a council. An interchange of opinions on the great questions now agitating the

world will rouse women to new thought, will intensify their love of liberty, and will give them a realizing sense of the power of combination.

"However the governments, religions, laws, and customs of nations may differ, all are agreed on one point, namely, man's sovereignty in the state, in the church and in the home. In an International Council women may hope to devise new and more effective methods for securing the equality and justice which they have so long and so earnestly sought. Such a council will impress the important lesson that the position of women anywhere affects their position everywhere. Much is said of universal brotherhood, but, for weal and for woe, more subtle and more binding is universal sisterhood. Women recognizing the disparity between their labors and their achievements, will no doubt agree that they have been trammeled by their political subordination. Those active in great philanthropic enterprises sooner or later realize that, so long as women are not acknowledged to be the political equals of men, their judgment on public questions will have but little weight. It is, however, neither intended nor desired that discussions in the International Council shall be limited to questions touching the political rights of women. Formal invitations requesting the appointment of delegates will be issued to representative organizations in every department of woman's work. Literary clubs, art and temperance unions, labor leagues, missionary, peace, and moral purity societies, charitable, professional, educational, and industrial associations, will thus be offered equal opportunity with suffrage societies to be represented in what should be the ablest and most imposing body of women ever assembled.

"The council will continue eight days, and its fifteen public sessions will afford ample opportunity for reporting woman's work and progress in all parts

of the world during the past forty years. It is hoped that all friends of the advancement of women will lend their support to this undertaking.

“Signed: On behalf of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

“ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, President, New York.

“SUSAN B. ANTHONY, First Vice-President, Rochester.

“MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, Second Vice-President, Fayetteville, N. Y.

“MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Chairman Executive Committee, Indianapolis, Ind.

“ELLEN H. SHELDON, Recording Secretary, Washington, D. C.

“JANE H. SPOFFORD, Treasurer, Washington, D. C.

“RACHEL G. FOSTER, Corresponding Secretary, Philadelphia, Pa.”

June 1, 1887.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE MEMORIAL CONVENTION OF 1888

Mrs. Stanton and Mrs. Spofford were both in Europe, Mrs. Gage was ill, Miss Sheldon's entire time was consumed by her personal work and the herculean task of making all necessary arrangements for the meeting indicated by this Call fell to Miss Anthony, Miss Rachel G. Foster (later Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery), and Mrs. May Wright Sewall. The correspondence was placed in the hands of Mrs. Sewall and Miss Foster, both of whom relied on Miss Anthony, whose acquaintance among suffragists both in England and the United States was wide, for the lists of suffrage sympathizers. The correspondence began immediately after the issuance of the Call. The chairman of the committee, Mrs. Sewall, un-

dertook to compile a list of existing organizations of women in the United States, while Miss Foster, who had already spent some time abroad, was empowered to secure a list of similar organizations in foreign countries. Over one hundred national organizations of women were found to exist in the U. S. A., and correspondence with their representatives revealed a timidity in accepting an invitation from a suffrage society as well as other limitations which gave much new sociological information to the Committee having preparations in charge. It was by discovering that women for the most part were interested only either in women of their own class or in the legitimate recipients of their own charities that Mrs. Sewall became convinced that the time had arrived for a distinctly new departure in organization. Up to that time individuals of about the same social position, entertaining to a large degree on all important subjects the same opinions, characterized by the same tastes, following the same aspirations, had been united to accomplish a common object in which all were nominally equally interested, or at least, with which all were in sympathy. The correspondence showed that what was needed to broaden the minds and the sympathies of women was to bring them together under conditions which would show them that however different in traditions, in wealth, social position and in religious and political opinions they might be, they all were equally related to larger interests; that indeed the likenesses existing among the most different classes of women were larger than the differences among the same classes. This perception during the remaining months of preparation became a dominating idea and gradually there grew up in Mrs. Sewall's mind a new concept of organization which took to itself the name of *The Council Idea*. Gradually the plan of a National Council, not only for the United States of America but for every country in the world which should unite women on the most democratic basis for

the largest interests, was matured by her; at the same time there grew the conception as an agent for focusing such international feeling as already existed among women, and for increasing that feeling, the plan of a Permanent International Council which should be composed of National councils.

The letter here introduced from Mrs. Ida Husted Harper shows that this plan was formulated in 1887 though it was not communicated excepting to two or three personal friends before the international meeting opened in Washington, in March, 1888.

“Furnished for Publication.”

“My dear Mrs. Sewall,

I remember distinctly a long talk I had with you in the library of your home at Indianapolis in 1887. You then outlined to me in full detail the plan of a National and an International Council of Women, which should be formed at the International Council that was to meet in Washington in March, 1888, and you said they would far exceed in scope any organization of women in existence.

In the Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, in Chapter XXXV describing this first Council meeting, on page 639, is this statement:

“In the year of preliminary work for this great Council, the thought came many times to May Wright Sewall that it ought to result in something more than one brief convention, and she conceived the idea of a permanent International and also a permanent National Council of Women. During the week in Washington she presented her plan to a large number of the leaders who regarded it with approval.” The forming of these Councils is then described.

In Vol. IV of the History of Woman Suffrage almost the same language is used. Both of these

books were written in Miss Anthony's own house, and the latter bears her name as one of the editors. She read these statements again and again, in manuscript, in typewriting, in galley proof and in page proof. They had her complete sanction, and, while the calling of the first Council was due to the initiative of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and herself she always gave to you, Mrs. Sewall, full credit for the idea of organizing the permanent Councils.

In the interest of justice, and also because I know it would meet with Miss Anthony's full approval, I take pleasure in sending you this letter.

Very sincerely yours,
"Ida Husted Harper."

MRS. SEWALL'S FORMAL PROPOSITION TO ORGANIZE AN INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN AND A NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES AS PERMANENT RESULTS OF THE MEMORIAL CONVENTION OF 1888.

From the report of that council, which was edited by Rachel G. Foster, the following statements are quoted:

"The delegates were requested to meet with the Committee of Arrangements the afternoon of Saturday, March 24, in the Red Parlor of the Riggs House. At 3 P. M. they were called to order by Miss Anthony, chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. Of the forty-eight duly accredited delegates a majority were present. After the preliminary business Mrs. Sewall, at the request of the chairman, stated briefly her plan of forming, as a fitting result of the present council, two permanent organizations, National and International, which should make possible at regular intervals representative meetings of the same inclusive char-

acter. Mrs. Sewall then moved that a committee be appointed to consider the question of National and International councils, and to report to the delegates a basis of organizations.

"In the discussion of the question the following persons participated:

"Frances E. Willard.
"Mary A. Livermore.
"Julia Ward Howe.
"Edna D. Cheney.
"Lucy Stone.
"Mary F. Eastman.
"Reverend Ada C. Bowles.
"Lita Barney Sayles.
"Reverend Antoinette B. Blackwell.
"Alice Scatcherd
"Alexandra Grippenberg
"Hannah Whitall Smith.
"May Wright Sewall.
"Rachel G. Foster.

"Mrs. Sewall's motion was passed, and it was further decided that the committee should consist of fifteen persons, to be appointed by the chair and that it should be instructed to report to a delegate meeting on Saturday afternoon, March 31st. This committee, called the Committee on Organization, was authorized to appoint a committee of nine on nominations, said committee to report only in case that it should be decided to organize the permanent councils. After some discussion, but no further official action, the meeting adjourned.

"On Monday, March 26th, Miss Anthony, in conformity with this vote, named the Committee on Organization as follows:

"Clara Barton	"Alexandra Grippenberg
"Isabelle Bogelot	"S. Magelsson Groth

“Ada C. Bowles “Bessie Starr Keefer
“Laura Ormiston Chant “Victoria Richardson
“Mary F. Eastman “Alice Scatcherd
“Martha R. Field “May Wright Sewall
“Rachel G. Foster, Sec. “M. Louise Thomas
 “Frances E. Willard, Chairman

“The Committee on Organization met Tuesday, March 27th, at 10 A. M. After discussion, a resolution in favor of the formation of a National and International council in conformity with the plan that had been presented by Mrs. Sewall, was passed. Miss Willard, the chairman, presented an outline of constitutions for the two councils in conformity with the same plan which was referred to a sub-committee of three, Miss Willard, Miss Eastman and Mrs. May Wright Sewall. A Committee on Nominations was formed as follows:

“Clara Barton, Chairman
“M. Louise Thomas
“Mary F. Eastman
“May Wright Sewall
“Leonora M. Barry
“Clara Cleghorn Hoffman
“Frances E. Willard
“Ada C. Bowles
“Rachel G. Foster.”

“It was moved that Miss Willard, as chairman of the Committee on Organization, should request Miss Anthony to call a meeting of the delegates at the adjournment of the public session that morning (Tuesday, March 27th) that this committee might ask for power to add the foreign delegates to the committee for the nomination of officers for the International council.

“This request was granted,* and Wednesday, March 28th, the Committee on Organization, aug-

mented by the foreign delegates, met at 9 A. M., when a draft of preamble and constitutions presented by the sub-committee of three above named was discussed and referred again to the same sub-committee.

"At one o'clock Wednesday the Committee on Nominations met in the private dining room of the Riggs House. Officers were first nominated for the proposed International council. This done the foreign delegates withdrew and the home delegates nominated the officers for a National council of the United States.

"Saturday, March 31, at 3 P. M., in the Red Parlor of the Riggs House, the third delegates' meeting convened. Miss Willard, chairman of the Committee on Basis of Organization, read the following report:

"Mindful of the high duties entrusted to its care, your committee has earnestly addressed itself to the problem of a National and an International council of Women—First, as to the practicability of forming two such great organizations, in which should be included the organized working forces of the world's womanhood and, secondly, as to their object and method.

"As a result of our deliberations, we respectfully report:

"First: We (Mrs. Scatcherd dissenting as to The International) are strongly in favor of such federations—National and International—believing that it will incalculably increase the world's sum total of womanly courage, efficiency, and esprit du corps;

*The persons added were: Alice Scatcherd, Laura Ormiston Chant, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Zadel Barnes Gustafson of England; S. Magelsson Groth, Norway; Alexandra Gripenberg, Finland; Mrs. McDonnell, Bessie Starr Keefer, of Canada; Isabelle Bogelot, France.

*During the discussion of the report of the Committee on Organization, Mrs. Alice Scatcherd and Mrs. Ashton Dilke requested leave to withdraw, as they did not desire to assume responsibility in the formation of the International Council.

that it will widen our horizon, correct the tendency to an exaggerated impression of one's own work as compared with that of others, and put the wisdom and experience of each at the service of all.

" 'Secondly: We suggest that the form of organization be the simplest possible, and to this end we offer forms of constitutions adapted to a National and to an International Council of Women.

" 'Signed:

" 'Frances E. Willard, " 'Bessie Starr Keefer,
" 'Victoria Richardson, " 'Alice Scatcherd
" 'Ada C. Bowles, (For National only),
" 'M. Louise Thomas, " 'Isabelle Bogelot,
" 'Clara Barton, " 'Laura Ormiston Chant,
" 'Mary F. Eastman, " 'S. Magelsson Groth,
" 'May Wright Sewall, " 'Alexandra Gripenberg,
" 'Martha R. Field, " 'Rachel O. Foster.'

" The constitutions which follow were read as a whole. It was then moved and carried to act upon the preamble and articles *seriatim*, as also upon the recommendations. They were adopted as reported by the committee, with the exception of the change of the word 'Biennial' to 'Triennial,' in Articles IV, V and VI of the National Constitution, and of the word 'Quadrennial' to 'Quinquennial,' in the corresponding articles of the Constitution of the International council.

" **CONSTITUTION OF THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES, ORGANIZED AT WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 31, 1888.**

Preamble.

" We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sym-

pathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.

“That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

CONSTITUTION

Article I

Name

“This federation shall be called the Woman’s National Council of the United States.

Article II

General Policy

“This council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; *therefore*, no society voting to become auxiliary to this council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or to any utterance or act of the council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution.

Article III

Officers

“The officers shall be a president, vice-president at large, corresponding secretary, recording secretary and treasurer. Each president of an auxiliary society shall be an ex-officio vice-president of the National council, and the president of the National council shall be ex-officio vice-president of the International council.

“The five general officers, with the vice-presidents, shall constitute an Executive committee, of which seven members shall make a quorum, to control and provide for the general interests of the council.

Article IV

Auxiliaries

“Any society of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive committee, either as to its undoubtedly national character or national value may become auxiliary to this council by its own vote and by the payment of a sum amounting to half a cent yearly per member in addition to a payment of twenty-five dollars, into the treasury of the National council, not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

Article V

Meetings

“The National council shall hold triennial meetings.

“The Committee of Arrangements shall be composed of the Executive committee and one delegate chosen by each auxiliary society as its representative.

Article VI

“This constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the council at any triennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member of the Executive committee at least three months prior to such meeting.

“CONSTITUTION OF THE INNTERNATIONAL
COUNCIL OF WOMEN, ORGANIZED AT
WASHINGTON, D. C., UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA, MARCH 31, 1888.

Preamble

“We, women of all nations, sincerely believing that the best good of humanity will be advanced by greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the golden rule to society, custom and law.

“That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

CONSTITUTION

Article I

Name

“This federation shall be called the International Council of Women.

Article II

General Policy

“This International council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no National council voting to become auxiliary to the International council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence or method of work, or shall be committed to any principle or method of any other council, or to any utterance or act of this International council, beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution.

Article III

Officers

“The officers shall be a president, vice-president at large, corresponding secretary, recording secretary and treasurer. Each president of a National council shall be ex-officio vice-president of the International council.

“The five general officers, with the vice-president, shall constitute an Executive committee, of which seven members shall make a quorum, to control and provide for the general interests of the International council.

Article IV

Auxiliaries

“Any National council may become auxiliary to the International council by its own vote and by the payment of one hundred dollars every five years. This sum shall be paid into the treasury of the International council not later than three months prior to its quinquennial meetings.

Article V

Meetings

“The International council shall hold quinquennial meetings. The Committee of Arrangements shall be composed of the Executive committee and one delegate from each National council.

Article VI

“This constitution may be altered and amended by a majority vote of the council at any quinquennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member of the Executive committee at least three months prior to such a meeting.

Recommendations

“First: That the general officers of the National council be instructed to issue an address at

once, to the women of the United States, setting forth the objects of this organization.

“Second: That the general officers of each National association secure, if possible, a letter of approval of this new form of organization, signed by representative women of all countries, urging the co-operation of all women, irrespective of race or creed, to be used in connection with the official address.

“Third: That the general officers of both National and International councils be instructed to enact by-laws for their guidance which shall be valid until the first regular meeting of each council be held; *provided*, that no by-law shall be adopted which is not in exact accord with the constitution.

“Fourth: That a clause be inserted into either the constitution or by-laws providing that no person shall occupy the office of president for two consecutive terms. These recommendations refer to both organizations.

“Unanimously adopted.

“After the adoption of these Constitutions and Recommendations Miss Barton, as chairman of the Committee on Nominations, brought in her report. The vote was taken by ballot, separately, upon the officers of each council. The result was the election of the ticket reported by the committee, as follows:

“Officers of the National Council of Women of the United States:

“President—Frances E. Willard, Illinois.

“Vice-President at Large—Susan B. Anthony, New York.

“Corresponding Secretary—May Wright Sewall, Indiana.

“Recording Secretary—Mary F. Eastman, Massachusetts.

“Treasurer—M. Louis Thomas, New York.
“Officers of the International council :
“President—Milicent Garrett Fawcett, England.
“Vice-President at Large—Clara Barton, United States.
“Corresponding Secretary—Rachel G. Foster, United States.
“Recording Secretary—Kirstine Frederiksen, Denmark.
“Treasurer—Isabelle Bogelot, France.”

PART II

INITIAL WORK FOR THE COUNCIL IDEA AND FOR ITS INTERNATIONALIZATION.

A perusal of the constitution adopted at Washington will show that the International council was to be composed of National councils. Hence, however anomalous the situation, until some other National council should be organized, the National Council of Women of the United States was *de facto* the International council of Women. Its officers were all of them committed to the desire to work toward the internationalization of the new method of organization which had been undertaken. Naturally, their first object was to secure the hearty, sympathetic interest in the movement of the European officers of the International council. As Fröken Kirstine Frederiksen and Madame Isabelle Bogelot were both present at the time of their election, and, as they had accepted their respective offices with enthusiasm, their aid and support were assured.

No doubt existed in the minds of the officers of the American council and in those of the two American officers of the International council, that the president-elect, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, would undertake the work implied by the position to which she had been called. The American members of the Committee on Organization and Nomination had been induced to nominate Mrs. Fawcett, not only by her high scholarship and by her position as a trusted leader of the suffrage movement of Great Britain, but also by the fact that her letter * to the National Woman's Suffrage Association in 1884 indicated sympathetic interest in united international effort. It was therefore a great disappointment to the American officers of the International council that, as time passed, no response came from Mrs. Fawcett to the announcement of her election to the presi-

dency of the new society, and a greater when later a negative response was received. It seemed to them worth while to endeavor to reverse her decision.

From the outset Miss Willard, who already had numerous international relations, had agreed with Mrs. Sewall, the corresponding secretary of the National council, that the international aspect of the council work was and would remain the most important part of the work of the American council until a council should be organized in at least one other country. It was from this point of view that, on Mrs. Sewall's going abroad in 1888, Miss Willard appointed her as a special envoy to Mrs. Fawcett. Circumstances prevented an interview between Mrs. Sewall and Mrs. Fawcett in 1888, but correspondence resulted in what was interpreted as a partial assent to the proposition that the latter should begin the organization of a council in Great Britain, at the same time regarding seriously her election as president of the International council.*

London, February 14, 1884.

*Dear Friends in Convention Assembled:

I think we may fairly ask those who have not yet come to any conclusion on the subject of Women's Suffrage, whether on the whole they believe representative government to be preferable to despotic government; and if so, why the reasons which lead them to this opinion lose their cogency when those who are asking for representation happen to be women?

It is appropriate that England and America, the strongholds of representative government, should be leading the way in this question of the representation of women. The demand of women for the Suffrage is but a branch of the great movement towards democracy which received its first impulse from America in 1776, and is still going on, gathering force and volume year by year in the Old World as well as in the New.

Milliecent Garrett Fawcett,
51 The Lawn, S. Lambeth Road.

It was in July, 1889, in response to an invitation from progressive women of France, who had secured for their enterprise the auspices of the French government, that an International Congress of Women was convened in Paris. It was out of regard to her international obligations that Miss Willard appointed Mrs. Sewall (who,

accompanied by her husband, was going abroad) to serve the National Council of Women of the United States as a delegate to this congress.

The French ladies were generous in repeatedly ascribing the courageous impulse under which they had acted to the meeting held in Washington the preceding year, which had been enthusiastically reported by Mme. Bogelot. It was on the invitation of the Organizing committee, of which Madam de Morsier was the chairman, that Mrs. Sewall delivered the following address expounding the Council Idea for the first time to a foreign audience. As it indicates the spirit and purpose of the council concept, it is here reproduced:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MRS. SEWALL IN
PARIS, JULY 16, 1889. TRANSLATEED FROM
“ACTES DU CONGRES, INTERNATIONAL,
DES OEUVRRES ET INSTITUTIONS FEMI-
NINES,” PUBLISHED IN PARIS IN 1890.

“The organization which I have the honor to represent in this distinguished congress has a most significant title. It is called ‘The National Council of Women of the United States.’ The origin of this organization is as significant as its name.

“‘The National Council of Women of the United States’ is one of the immediate products of an International Council of Women, convened at Washington, the capital of our country, in March, 1888.

“I have reason to believe that many in this audience know of that International council, for I notice with pleasure, in the list of officers whose signatures are subscribed to the call for this ‘International Congress of Women’s Work and Institutions,’ the name of Mme. Isabelle Bogelot, who was the delegate representing French charities in Washington.

"The International council held in Washington was convened under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage Association of the U. S., but it included representatives of all degrees of conservatism as well as of all degrees of radicalism; that was incomparably the most truly representative gathering of women ever convened in our country. The subjects which it considered were naturally as numerous and as various as were the organizations represented in it. Delegates from fifty-eight national organizations of women in our own country and from various organizations of women in England, Scotland, France, Norway, Denmark, Finland, India and Canada, discussed under numerous sub-titles the general subjects of philanthropy, charities, industries, professions, education, religion, temperance, moral reform and political rights, or such aspect of those subjects as particularly interest and affect women.

"That council illustrated, on a great scale, what had before a thousand times been proved in a small way,—viz., that it is good for people independently holding different views and working along entirely different directions, to meet now and then on the broad lines of general agreement and human sympathy.

"The conviction that such occasional meetings would benefit all who should participate in them grew from day to day through the fifteen sessions of the council in the minds of its participants, as it had grown in the mind of the chairman of its Organizing committee during the months of preparation. Out of that conviction arose the permanent National Council of Women of the United States, and also the initiatory steps toward forming a permanent International council.

"The constitution of the National council, adopted at Washington, and the circular letter issued subsequently by its general officers (copies of both of which

I shall submit with this report), show that the object of the council is to bring all national organizations of women into a federation, and to provide for regular triennial meetings of such federation. In these meetings every cause or object represented by the National organizations which have joined the federation will be discussed by its advocates, and its progress will be officially reported. It will be seen that the National council, itself, as such, does not espouse any one cause, advocate any *one* reform, or, indeed, give preference to any one above the others. All of the organizations confederated in it meet in it as equals, with equal representation on its official staff and on its executive board, whatever their respective numerical strength may be. Whether the significance of this will be understood by those unfamiliar with the conditions of American life I am uncertain, and, therefore, I shall undertake to explain one aspect of American social life which has so often excited the curiosity of travelers in our country.

"De Tocqueville speaks with astonishment at the ease with which public meetings are convened in the United States, and of the tendency of American men to organize into bodies for the accomplishment of any desired purpose—for instance, as the building of a church, opening a school, mending a road, draining a swamp, approving or condemning an official.

"The same 'tendency to hold meetings and to organize,' which De Tocqueville noticed as characteristic of American men, has also developed in American women. This tendency in our men and in our women has probably the same origin. In a new country and in a society whose fundamental principle is equality, the individual man is inadequate to any great task. Individual weakness finds its sole remedy in combinations. This is quite as true of women as of men. The earliest combinations of women in our

country were formed in the name of religion. If men held meetings and organized associations to *build* new churches, women, on a smaller scale and by quieter methods did precisely the same thing to *furnish* the churches, when built, or to raise funds for educating young men to become pastors of such churches; following these combinations of women in the name of religion came others organized in the name of charity; most of the charities were connected with the churches, and to religion and charity the organized work of women was limited until some noble, self-sacrificing women formed an organization in the name of *freedom*, a name naturally dear to American women. It must be confessed that it was not their own freedom or the freedom of their sex for which these women combined, but they organized a society whose object was to deliver the African race in the United States from slavery. Not until 1848 did women in the United States begin to combine for the amelioration of their own condition. The leaders of that movement, or many of them, including Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, have visited France. The far-reaching efficacy of their work for their countrywomen I shall not undertake to tell you. I mention their names and the date 1848 simply because the National council is the latest development of the work begun in that eventful year which marked heroic struggles for freedom in many lands, including France.

"Since 1848 the work of organization among women has gone steadily forward. It received a great impetus during the war of the Rebellion, from 1861 to 1865, and from the latter date the tendency among American women to organize for the accomplishment of purposes too large to be attained by individual effort has grown to be a characteristic feature of American society. These organizations, in the large ma-

jority of instances, are in their beginning purely local, limited to a city or perhaps to a district of a city, to a village or perhaps to a country neighborhood. The local organizations of the same kind, i. e., for the same object, spread and multiply, and they aggregate themselves into county organizations; as similar organizations grow up in different counties the county societies aggregate themselves into state associations and finally state associations existing for the same purpose aggregate themselves into a national body. It is true that in some instances, as in the formation of the Woman's Rights Association, in 1848, above alluded to, an orgazination has been affected by persons of one mind and a common motive, living in different parts of our great country, and has at once assumed the dignity of a national association. This is, however, the rare exception; as a rule national organizations of women result from the union of state associations of a similar character, as the state organizations have first resulted from the union of similar county or local associations. In such local organizations of divers names and purposes many millions of American women are now enrolled. In their hands are the missionary and charitable enterprises of the churches and the great philanthropies which are independent of the churches. By them the artistic taste and the literary culture of rural communities are nurtured, and by them the social life of cities is rescued from mere vulgar luxury, and is made to serve as an ally of the higher culture.

"By them, great reforms which are destined to effect, and which do effect an amelioration of the human lot, regardless of sex, are carried forward. Conspicuous among these are some which have already arrived at international importance—such are the great temperance reform movement, with Frances E. Willard at its head—The Society of the Red Cross,

sick and comforting the sorrowing? Industrial education and the opening of new industries to women will largely diminish the number of the hungry and thus leave more food for the inevitable pensioners of society.

“Let all opportunities for higher education be opened to women and their enlarged intelligence applied to domestic life will so improve the architecture and the sanitation of homes that the number of the sick will be decreased, and the invalids who remain can have the care of skilled nurses and trained physicians of their own sex. Let women have access to the learned professions as well as to all forms of industry and to all means of education—and though sorrow will not cease, it too, will diminish; for the most grievous sorrows result from sin, and the most common and degrading sins result from ignorance, poverty and helplessness.

“Fourth: This illustration of the correlation of the spiritual forces of society cannot fail to exert a great and ultimately commanding influence upon public opinion in our country. The triennial meetings of the National council will be the feminine complement of the congress of the United States. Such meetings will focus public attention, reports of them which the press will convey to all parts of the country will instruct the public mind and they cannot fail to accelerate the progress of every movement which they represent.

“Fifth: In these meetings will convene not the mere representatives of states, of geographical territory, but in them will meet the representatives of great humanitarian enterprises, of spiritual aspirations, of political and social reforms, of moral and religious movements. As these meetings will not bring together the mere representatives of states and sections, but of causes and movements which have the

same significance and the same beneficent effect in all states and in all sections, they cannot but result in cultivating in women and, therefore, in the whole people, that spirit of patriotism and of nationality, by which alone the unity of our great republic can be secured. This last anticipated result of the National council and its triennial conventions has peculiar significance in our country. It is often said of Paris, 'Paris is France,' but no place in the great North American republic can be called the United States; indeed, no place in it can be called, with propriety, the metropolis of the United States, as London is the metropolis of England, for, while Washington is the seat of the national government, New York is the center of our commerce—and yet it has its rivals, almost its peers, in San Francisco on the Pacific coast, and in St. Louis and Chicago in the intermediate plain. Thus, as there is not, with us, strictly speaking, any *center* of national life, if such life is to be preserved the life of all sections must be unified by a universal conception of the idea of nationality, and by the universal cultivation of loving allegiance to that idea. In this work of unifying all parts of our country, and of bringing to all parts of it the conviction that the glory of each is the glory of all, I hold that the National Council of Women is destined to play no ignoble role. Organized but a year and a half ago there have already entered it eleven of the fifty-eight national organizations above referred to, and among these are some of the strongest, such as the National Woman Suffrage Association, the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Western Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the Society of the Red Cross, two large religious bodies, viz., the Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist church and the Woman's Missionary Association of the Free Will Baptist church. The other societies which have entered,

though having a less numerous membership than these, are not less noble and important in purpose. During the year, also, under the auspices of Sorosis (one of the earliest and most influential of the numerous women's clubs in our country), there has been held in New York City a convention of women's clubs. The immediate result of that convention was the formation of a committee to mature a plan for bringing all of the hundreds of women's clubs in our country into a permanent National Federation. Moreover, in several of our large cities, notably in Chicago and Philadelphia, the local associations of women have united in a Local Council of Women, under constitutions harmonious with that adopted by the National council.

"Thus you will see that both by direct effort and by suggestion the National Council of Women of the United States has made a beginning full of promise, and its officers and the associations which have already united in it look forward to its first triennial meeting in Washington in the Spring of 1891 in the confident expectation that it will be the largest and most influential assembly of women ever convened in our country.

"Is it not possible that what the National council of the United States will do for that country, similar National Councils of women in England, in France, and in each of the great countries of Europe would do for their respective peoples?

"Such was the hope of the women who organized the Woman's National Council of the United States, and we have anticipated that this grand assembly of women in Paris might be deemed by the leaders of progress in France an auspicious occasion for organizing a permanent Woman's National Council in *this* country.

"Again, is it not possible that what a National

Council of Women may do toward advancing the common welfare of any one people *that* an *International Council* of Women may do toward advancing the common welfare of all the peoples of the world?

"Such was the sublime hope of the women who met in Washington in March of 1888. In pursuance of this hope the initiatory steps were then taken toward the organization of such a permanent International Council of Women. A constitution for such a body was formed and adopted and general officers elected.

"The constitution provides that in such International Council of Women shall be federated the National councils of women of different countries, that the president of each National council shall be an active vice-president of the International council, and that quinquennial meetings of the International council shall be held in the capitals of the various countries, which, through their National councils of women, are represented in this permanent International council. Just as the constitution of our National Council leaves every national organization which enters it free to do its own work in its own way, so the constitution of the International council, as adopted, leaves every National council which shall enter it entirely unrestricted in its work.

"I stand before you today not merely as a delegate from the National Council of Women of the United States, but also as the representative of Miss Clara Barton and Mrs. Foster-Avery, the American officers of the International Council of Women.

"I have here to distribute for them, in this congress, copies of the constitution of the International Council, which I have had translated and printed in French.

"It is my anxious hope that this constitution may find favor in the judgment of this congress, and that

at some proper time, during the sessions of this present congress, a vote of endorsement of it may be passed and a vote of approval for the plan of binding into a permanent International council the progressive, liberty loving, humanity serving women of the world. Could this be done it would greatly increase our strength. Then each World's Congress would not stand as an isolated body as the result of the herculean but spasmodic effort of the women of one country, but on the contrary, succeeding one another, at regular intervals, such meetings would have an ever increasing force, although each succeeding one could be convened with greater ease.

"Is the plan *too* comprehensive? Why—beloved women of France; it is but one more application of a word dear to your people, of a word whose noble significance was indeed first comprehended by the French people, and by them translated to the world. It is but one more reading of your sublime word—*FRATERNITE*'—made here to comprehend another evolution in the idea of the unity in destiny of all the peoples of the earth."

As if in reply to the questions in the last paragraph of this address, at a later session of the congress the following resolution was voted:

"Persuadé que l'organisation et la reunion fréquente des femmes dans chaque pays favorisaient les efforts qui ont pour but de provoquer la mise en pratique de cette justice nationale de cette moralité et de cette philanthropie plus élevée qui caractérisent le *XIX Siècle*; persuadé aussi que l'union des femmes de toutes les nations produirait le même effet dans le mond entier, le Congress approuve la foundation d'un Conseil International Permanent des Femmes."

It was by a unanimous vote that the foregoing resolution was passed.

This International congress afforded Mrs. Sewall her

first large opportunity to meet with women of different countries and to discuss the principles underlying this movement. The longest, most frequent and most fruitful conversations were with interested women, subsequently identified with the work of the International council as well as with that of the councils of their respective countries.

Mrs. Sewall had again been delegated by Miss Willard to seek an interview with Mrs. Fawcett, and to use every effort to prevail upon her to take the still vacant presidency of the International council.

Mrs. Sewall had a memorable interview with Mrs. Fawcett, who advanced numerous reasons why she could not accept the presidency of an International body. She felt that she had already enough work at home; that in Great Britain conditions were not ripe for federating the existing organizations of women, and finally, to the utter disappointment of Mrs. Sewall, Mrs. Fawcett declared that to her mind it was "quite impossible that English and American women should have anything in common, the conditions of their lives and the purposes of their respective societies being so different."

This had to be accepted as a final rejection of the presidency. On reporting this interview to Miss Willard it was decided among the officers of the American council that they would take no further steps toward completing the official strength of the International council, but with the support of the American officers of the International and the sympathy of Mme. Bogelot and Fröken Frederiksen would continue in every way possible to spread the council idea in foreign countries.

After the congress in Paris Mrs. Sewall visited Switzerland, and at Geneva and Zurich addressed drawing room meetings, expounding the Council Idea.

The substance of all the addresses made by Mrs. Sewall at this time and in 1891 in exposition of the coun-

cil idea will be found in its most condensed form in the first *Call* issued by the officers of the American council, which is indicative of the character and scope that it was then hoped council work would take in any country where it should be inaugurated. This *Call* was printed in large editions, and widely distributed in all the countries visited by Mrs. Sewall in 1889, as well as in the great congress in Paris. It is therefore reproduced here.

“FIRST CALL OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL
COUNCIL OF WOMEN. ‘AN ADDRESS TO
ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN IN THE
UNITED STATES.’

“The International Council of Women, held at Albaugh’s Opera House, Washington, D. C., March 25 to April 1, 1888, convened by the National Woman Suffrage Association, addressed by nearly one hundred women from seven different countries, and representing fifty-three national societies, was the first attempt to unify the spirit and method of the world’s organized womanhood. Under the nine general topics of education, philanthropy, temperance, industries, professions, legal conditions, political conditions, moral education and organization itself (as the essential prerequisite of the most effective work in all these lines)—a representative body of women took grave counsel together, and, without one dissonant note, the mighty chorus of harmonious purpose sounded through the civilized world. It is perfectly safe to say that never before did the nation’s womanhood, by a single demonstration, so impress its thought, its sympathy and its purposes on the public mind. This proved the well-nigh resistless power of associated effort. It was the harvest of forty years spent in seed sowing; the hour was ripe for it, and earlier effort would have been premature, if not impossible.

“The chief outcome of this great meeting was a still wider evolution of woman’s work. A permanent International Council was projected (to which none but National Councils can be eligible as auxiliaries), and a National Council for the United States was formed (to which none but National Associations within the United States can be eligible as auxiliaries). The purpose of this National Council is thus stated in its constitution. (Here in the address

follow liberal quotations from the constitution.)

"The meetings of the National Council are to be triennial and the Committee of Arrangements for them is composed of the Executive committee and one delegate chosen by each auxiliary society as its representative."

"This address is sent to all national organizations of women, earnestly inviting them to become auxiliary to the Council by formal action at their next executive sessions, to be reported to our corresponding secretary.

"THE LEADING OBJECT OF THIS NEW MOVEMENT is to aggregate all local societies having the same object into national societies eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council of Women. For instance, the clubs organized by women in all the leading cities have thus far been isolated, but it is hoped that a convention will be called within a year to form a national federation of women's clubs *; the influence of individual clubs would be increased by coming into such a federation, and the federation would be eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council. The same is true of the women's protective agencies and many other excellent societies that have been organized locally, but not, as yet, generally.

"It is confidently anticipated that all national organizations of women will, within the next two years, become auxiliary to the National Council and be ready to participate, through their representatives, in the first triennial meeting of the Woman's National Council, to be held in Washington in the Spring of 1891.

"We also suggest the unification of all local societies into women's councils for each town or city, and the aggregation of all state societies into state and

*This was done. Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, being at once President of Sorosis and a member of the official Board of the Council, facilitating the plan.

territorial councils, that this general plan of solidarity may be made helpful to the utmost possible degree, bringing women of all sects and sections into mutual acquaintance, efficiency and fellowship. The simplicity of the plan is one of its chief advantages.

"The Local Council of Women would be made up of the presidents of all societies of women in a given locality, and might have a headquarters of its own, with an office secretary, and hold meetings quarterly. This Council would naturally enter unitedly upon such lines of work as all the societies could agree upon.

"The State Council would naturally hold meetings annually. It is believed that such a plan of interaction, combined with the organic independence of each society, will broaden the outlook of individual members and lead to larger mutual toleration between organizations heretofore separate, and to a great degree non-sympathetic; that it will do away with the overlapping of plans that now leads to much waste of time and energy, and that its influence would be sufficient to secure almost any local reform, either small or great.

"As an illustration of the practical working of the plan it may be stated that such a Council of Women might, if it were the general desire, arrange for petitions for all societies of women in any given town or city, asking that women be placed on the school boards; on the different boards entrusted with the care of public institutions for the defective, delinquent and dependent classes; asking for the admission of women to membership and to official standing also, in local, county and state organizations, such as press associations, medical associations, Sunday school and Ecclesiastical associations, etc.; asking that the doors of such schools and colleges as are not yet open to women may be thrown open for their admission; asking for gymnastic and industrial training for girls

in the public schools; asking for better protection for the home and more judicious penalties for all crimes against girls and women. In short, Local and State Councils might take the same action in local and state affairs that the National Council will take regarding institutions and movements of national character and scope. It will be readily seen that greatly added force will come from any such movement, whether local, state or national, when it is backed by the united societies of the locality, state or nation, and that, with a small expenditure of money and time, all these societies, while carrying on separately their own individual work for which they were organized, may also do an immense work for womanhood at large along the lines on which all can agree to unite in sympathy, influence and effort. To carry out such plans on so large a scale will require time, but there is every reason to believe that the women of the nation will persist in a quiet but intelligent endeavor, having in view the ends herein stated, until success shall crown their great, but altogether practicable, movement.

"Already the organizations of women in Chicago have formed a Local Council, and a similar movement has been inaugurated in Philadelphia, Detroit and Providence. Ohio and Kansas have organized State Councils.

"Such unification of all local and state organizations will at once illustrate on a small scale what, on a large scale, the National Council is expected to accomplish for the welfare of humanity. But it is to be distinctly understood that under the constitution of the National Council only national societies of women are eligible to membership therein.

"A form of constitution for Local and State Councils, and other hints and helps for organizing, will be furnished on application to the corresponding sec-

retary of the Woman's National Council.

"Editors, writers and speakers are all earnestly requested to further, with their respective facilities, the plans herein stated. But we here address ourselves especially TO THE LEADERS AMONG WOMEN, urging upon their prayerful thought the possibilities of blessing bound up in the organized womanhood of our country—a country which surpasses all others in its bewildering danger and ineffable hope.

"Women have never yet united in large numbers save for good purposes; it is safe to predict that they never will. Their isolation one from another is in the interest of brute force; their combination means a dominance of peace and spiritual power, the purification, the protection and coronation of the home; the home is the shrine for whose sacred sake all that is good and true on earth exists. Happy are we who live to see the day when the women of our native land are clasping hands with a purpose so high and in a unity so holy, which may God bless.

"FRANCES E. WILLARD, Illinois, President of the Woman's National Council.

"SUSAN B. ANTHONY, New York, Vice-President at Large.

"M. LOUISE THOMAN, New York City, Treasurer.

"MARY F. EASTMAN, Massachusetts, Recording Secretary.

"MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, North Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind., Corresponding Secretary."

Indianapolis, Ind., Nov., 1888.

PART III

SUMMARY OF WORK OF THE AMERICAN OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL AND THE OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL, 1888-1891.

The officers of the National Council of the United States worked during the first triennium along the lines indicated in the preceding address, which, as seen above, was issued in November, 1888. The degree of their success can be indicated by the following summary of the strength, character, spirit and action of the council at its first triennial, which was held in Washington on February 22-26, 1891.

Its formal membership included the following national organizations:

- The National Woman Suffrage Association.
- The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
- The Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalists Church.
- Woman's National Press Association.
- Wimodaughsis (a National club).
- The National Women's Relief Society.
- The Young Ladies National Mutual Improvement Association.
- The Illinois Industrial Reform School for Girls.
- The National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.
- Sorosis, (the club representing, by invitation of the Council, the club movement, "until the General Federation of Women's clubs could be formed and affiliated").

In response to an invitation which had been issued to all known national organizations not members of the council, the following sent fraternal delegates to this meeting:

The Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition.

The Queen Isabella Association.

*The National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.

The Ramabai Association.

The King's Daughters.

The Moral Educational Society of Boston.

The Moral Education Society of Chicago.

*The Illinois Woman's Alliance.

*The Rhode Island Woman's Council.

*The Ohio Woman's Council.

The Woman's Educational and Industrial Union.

The Protective Agency for Women and Children.

The Ladies Physiological Institute of Boston.

The Woman's Health Protective Association of New York.

*The Woman's Baptist Missionary Society.

The Woman's Baptist Home Missionary Society.

The Woman's Missionary Society of the Reformed Church.

*The Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church.

The Union Woman's Missionary Society.

*The Women of the National Farmers Alliance.

The Women's Occidental Board of Foreign Missions.

The Woman's Board of Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

The Woman's Missionary Society of the Christian Church.

*The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.

*The Woman's Relief Corps; Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic.

The World's Woman's Temperance Union.

The British Women's Temperance Association.

- *The Non-Partisan National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
- *The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association.
- *The Woman's National Temperance Hospital.
- The Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the Good Templars of the World.
- The Illinois Woman's Home Missionary Society.
- *The Universal Peace Union.
- The New York Press Club.
- The Illinois Press Association.
- The New England Press Association.
- The International Council of Women (represented by its American officers).

Resolutions which express the spirit and epitomize the results of the First Triennial were passed as follows:

First: That the National Council of Women of the United States send a memorial to the clergymen of the Methodist Episcopal church, asking, inasmuch as sixty-two per cent of the membership of that denomination that voted on the subject has already, by formal ballot, expressed a desire that women be admitted to the general conference, that the clergy shall, in accordance with the will of the laity, grant the admission of women to that body.

Second: That the Council ask that women be placed on the Sunday School Lesson committee; and on all committees appointed in the various churches for the revision of their creeds.

Third: That the Council urge upon the National Divorce Reform League the eminent fitness and consequent obligation of placing women on its board.

Fourth: That the National Council of Women

*The star indicates the Societies which subsequently entered the National Council.

shall present to the proper authorities a formal request that in all departments of its service the government shall pay its employees equal wages for equal work, and that both in engaging and promoting its employees it shall consider efficiency and not sex, and thus set a standard for the country.

Fifth: That, inasmuch as the Columbian Exposition of 1893 will afford an exceptional opportunity for convening representatives of all countries, the officers of the National Council shall invite the officers of the International Council of Women to hold its first meeting in Chicago in the summer of 1893.

Resolved, That the general officers shall appoint a committee of women whose duty it shall be to report within a year suggestions for a business costume for women which will meet the demands of health, comfort and good taste.

Resolved, That the Council approves the movement for preventing the slaughter of birds for the sole purpose of ornamentation, and that it asks American women to imitate the example of the Princess of Wales, who has forbidden the use of plumage of singing birds on her toilets.

The Council also resolved to furnish a block of stone or marble, suitably inscribed, to place in the monument to be erected over the grave of Mary, the mother of Washington, and voted to commend to all organized bodies of women the objects of the Mary Washington Society.

Miss Willard stated that, as the president of the only existing National Council, which up to that date was *De facto* the International Council, she had, in consultation with the American officers of the International Council and with the consent by correspondence of the two foreign officers elect, who had accepted their respective offices, endeavored to promote the growth of the council spirit in other countries as opportunity has afforded, and

at Miss Willard's request Mrs. Sewall reported her work abroad, as recited in preceding pages. Mrs. Avery also reported her efforts by correspondence.

Miss Willard, declaring that, in her judgment, some definite action should be taken concerning the International Council of Women, moved that: "The National Council of Women of the United States, insofar as this can be effected by its own action, be hereby constituted a member of the International Council of Women." This motion was seconded by Mary F. Eastman and carried by unanimous vote.

Another decision of the greatest importance to the International Council was made by the American Council at its First Triennial; a decision which resulted from the following circumstances.

The United States government had, through congress, made provision for celebrating the discovery of America by organizing a World's Exposition; had fixed the dates of this exposition in 1893, and in connection with the proposed exposition there had been effected the organization of a "World's Congress Auxiliary," which also had the recognition and support of the United States government. The object of this subsidiary organization was to hold a series of world's congresses, coincident with the exposition.

A "Board of Lady Managers," created to protect the interests of women's work in the exposition, had also been made "The Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary." 1893 was the date marking the end of the first quinquennium of the International Council, and at the time of its organization it had been unanimously agreed that its first Quinquennial should be held in London in the Spring of 1893. That decision had been based on the expectation that the British president-elect would accept the post and that long before 1893 a National Council of Women would be organized in Great Britain. Both of these expectations having been disappointed, the

officers of the American Council and the American officers of the International Council conceived it to be appropriate that the first Quinquennial of the International Council should be convened in Chicago. Through correspondence the cordial concurrence in this plan of the two foreign officers, Madam Bogelot and Fröken Frederiksen, had been secured. Correspondence looking to the realization of this plan was opened with the Board of Lady Managers, which resulted in the board's being represented at the first Triennial of the American Council by Mrs. Potter Palmer, its president, Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin and Mrs. Virginia C. Meredith. Mrs. Palmer delivered an address, closing with the following sentences:

"The Board of Lady Managers also most cordially and pressingly invites this National Council to hold its international meeting in Chicago at the time of the Columbian Exposition, when it will place at the service of the ladies the assembly room in the Woman's building, and should that not prove large enough, from our Congress Auxiliary, the magnificent auditorium can be secured for the meetings of the International Council of Women."

Mrs. Potter Palmer's was followed by addresses of a similar character by both the other fraternal delegates of the board, who gave the most cordial invitations to the National Council to hold "any meetings which it desired during 1893 under the auspices of the board in Chicago." As a result of the circumstances here recited in detail two Resolutions were passed at the first meeting of the new Executive committee of the National Council of Women after the election of the officers for the second Triennium.

The FIRST committed the Council to arrange for holding a meeting in Chicago in 1893 for the purpose of promoting the international aspect of the Council Movement.

The SECOND resolution pledged the National Council to entertain during the congress all delegates attending it from foreign countries.

The officers elected to serve during the Second Triennium were:

President—Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Indiana, Vice-President at Large of the General Federation of Woman's Clubs, and President of the Western Association of Collegiate Alumnae.

Vice-President at Large—Ella Dietz Clymer, New York, President of Sorosis.

Corresponding Secretary—Rachel Foster-Avery, Pennsylvania, Recording Secretary of the National American Women Suffrage Association, and Corresponding Secretary of the International Council of Women.

Recording Secretary—Isabella Charles Davis, New York, Corresponding Secretary of the King's Daughters.

Treasurer—Lillian M. N. Stevens, Maine, Assistant Secretary of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The geographical location of these officers-elect and chief official connections are here stated to indicate the diversity of interests already united in the American National Council.

PART IV

CONTINUED EFFORTS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL DURING THE SECOND QUINQUENNIUM TO INTERNATIONALIZE THE COUNCIL IDEA.

The two resolutions above quoted emphasized on the minds of the officers-elect the international aspect of their work.

Acting in the spirit of these resolutions and pursuant to the decision of the officers of the American Council previously quoted, as well as in response to an invitation from the organizers of the International Congress of Women that had been held in Paris in 1889 (who had undertaken to organize a National council in France), in 1891 Mrs. Sewall again went to Europe in the interests of Internationalism, visiting France, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium and Germany, devoting much time in all of these countries to the exposition of the Council Idea, and to endeavoring to move progressive women to act upon the pledge taken in the Congress held in Paris in 1889, by which they were committed to the organization of National Councils in their respective countries.

The Call for the meeting of the International Council in Chicago in 1893, accompanied by the pledge to entertain all foreign delegates attending it, above referred to, was promptly issued and both Call and Pledge were given wide publicity through home and foreign press and through private and official correspondence. The Call is dated May 31, 1891, thus providing two years for preparation.

In due time the officers of the National council requested the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, president of the World's Congress Auxiliary, to adopt the first Quinquennial of the International Council of Women as one of the series of congresses being organized by the auxiliary. After much correspondence and several interviews this proposition was agreed to, with the understanding that

its scope should be enlarged to the greatest possible extent, that it should take the name of "The World's Congress of Representative Women," and that it should be subject to the same rules and enjoy the same privileges as the other congresses convened directly by "The World's Congress Auxiliary."

This application being granted, Mr. Bonney appointed the president and the corresponding secretary of the National Council—(Mrs. Sewall and Mrs. Avery) respectively, as chairman and as corresponding secretary of the Organizing Committee of the congress, to which was assigned the week opening May 15, 1893.

The Committee * began by correspondence to form a Home and a Foreign Advisory council, by whose aid they hoped to secure the proper speakers and writers of reports along all lines of women's work throughout the world, and to give the congress a publicity which would insure a large attendance.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Council, held in Chicago on May 9th and 10th, 1892, Mrs. Sewall was authorized to represent the interests of the Council in Europe during the following summer, with a view to increasing foreign interest in the proposed congress, which was to be coincident with the first Quinquennial of the International Council and to be regarded as an expression of such Council. This season Mrs. Sewall devoted three months to work in Germany, Belgium and France, the countries which, in her previous visits abroad in the interest of Internationalism, had seemed most responsive. In Berlin she spent a month in private interview with women of influence and in addressing separately the following societies, convened by

*The assisting members of this Committee were: Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. Lydia Avery Coonley, Miss Frances E. Willard, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert and Mrs. William Thayer Brown. Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Henrotin, as President and Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, were also ex-officio members.

their respective presidents to hear an exposition of the International council and of plans for its first congress:

The Scheppeler-Lette Verein.

The Frauen Wohl.

The Jugend Schutz.

The Vaterländische Frauen Verein.

The Edelweiss Verein.

The Victoria Haus.

The Victoria Lyceum.

The Pestalozzi-Froebel Verein.

The Künstlerinnen and Schriftstellerinnen Verein.

The Mädchen Real Schule Verein.

The Volks Küchen.

In Brussels it was by the aid of the now lamented Doctor en Droit-Marie Popelin and under the auspices of the Woman's Rights League of Belgium, which had been founded the preceding year, that Mrs. Sewall found her opportunities to reach the public.

In Paris a public address before a large audience in the Hall of the Mairie St. Solpice was followed by several weeks devoted to interviews with individual leaders and conferences with small groups, as follows:

La Société de Droit des Femmes.

L'Oeuvre des Libérées de Saint Lazare.

Société des Gens de Lettres.

L'Union International des Sciences et des Arts.

La Federation Feministe de la Paris.

Federation Francaise des Sociétés Femininistes.

Le Groupe de la Solidarité des Femmes.

Among the distinguished women with whom Mrs. Sewall conferred in her European visits who subsequently became conspicuous figures in National and International Councils were the following:

Frau Hedwig Heyl.

Frau Elisabet Kaselowsky.

Frau Lina Morgenstern.

Frau Dr. Tiburtius Hirschfeld.
Frau Marie Cauer.
Frau Hanna Biber-Boehm.
Frau Henrietta Schrader
Frau Jeanette Schwerin.
Mlle. Marie Popelin.
Mme. Isabelle Bogelot.
Mme. Jules Siefried.
Mme. Sara Monod.
Mme. Maria Martin.
Mme. Ernesta Urban.
Mme. Marya Cheliga.
Mme. A'Abbadie.
Mme. Callirhoe Parren.

It was due to the efforts of these ladies that wide publicity was given to the plans for the Council's third Congress through the press of France, Germany, England, Belgium, Canada, Russia, Italy, Greece, Scandinavia, Switzerland and Finland.

In the summer of 1891, as already intimated, distinguished French women had taken the first steps toward the organization of a National Council and, as shown in the preceding paragraphs, continued their efforts during the summer of 1892.

The following paragraph is taken from a volume edited by Mrs. Avery in 1891:

"At the Dominion Christian Temperance Union convention held in St. Johns, New Brunswick, in the summer of 1891, the new president, Mrs. Judge Steadman, of Fredericton, and Mrs. Edith J. Archibald, of Nova Scotia, were made chairman and secretary of a committee to call the women of Canada who are engaged in organized work, industrial, educational, philanthropic or religious to meet in the spring of 1892 for consultation with a view to establishing a Woman's Council for Canada."

It will be seen that the American Council had reason to hope that before the first quinquennial should convene there would be at least two more National Councils united with it, to constitute the International Council. These hopes being disappointed, the officers of the council of the United States necessarily continued to regard it as *de facto* the International Council.

The dual position and difficult task of the American president were rendered possible by the following facilitating circumstances:

1. Although Miss Clara Barton, the vice-president of the International Council, declined, on account of her prior obligations to the Red Cross Society, to assume any labor in connection with the Council, she gave her unquestioning support and never-failing sympathy to the organizers of its First Quinquennial.

2. The president and the corresponding secretary of the National Council of the United States of America, who was also the corresponding secretary of the International Council, were intimate friends and already accustomed to working together.

3. Mme. Bogelot and Fröken Frederiksen acquiesced sympathetically in all the plans submitted to them for the approaching Quinquennial and World's Congress, supporting their organizers with full confidence and aiding in gaining publicity for their plans abroad.

While Mrs. Sewall was abroad speaking in 1892 for the Council, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery at home was planning and carrying out a voluminous and searching correspondence with a view to making complete lists of National organizations of women in all countries where such existed, and of securing their enrollment as members of the approaching congress.

On Mrs. Sewall's return to America in September, 1892, the preliminary address was issued. Thousands of copies of this address in both French and English were

distributed in every country of the civilized world—not at random, but to carefully selected addresses of natives of each, secured by the aid of every means which the committee could devise. The breadth of the plan and the degree to which it was made to serve the interests of Internationalism may be inferred from these extracts from the address:

“DEPARTMENT OF WOMAN’S PROGRESS.—
PRELIMINARY ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE
ON A WORLD’S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN AT CHICAGO IN 1893.

“This congress is proposed, not for the purpose of advocating any one cause, of promoting any one doctrine, or of advancing any special propaganda, but for the purpose of bringing together the representatives of all worthy organizations of women, whatever their nationality or their specific object.”

* * * * *

“Home and Foreign Advisory councils will be formed to co-operate by correspondence with the Local Committee of Arrangements, to the end that this congress may be conducted to the distinguished success which the conditions demand. All officers of the International Council will be made members of the Foreign Advisory council; all officers of the National Council will be made members of the Home Advisory council.

“Women in all parts of the world interested in any department of intellectual activity, in philanthropy or reform, are solicited to correspond with the chairman of the local committee or with the secretary of the International Council of Women, and freely suggest topics for discussion in this congress, the names of women who should be invited to present papers or to participate in the discussions of the con-

gress, and also the names of women who should be included in either of the two Advisory councils.

"Every living question pertaining to the education or the employment of women may be discussed in this congress. In its sessions the woman's view upon every issue affecting humanity—upon the home, the church, the state, and her own function in these institutions—may be presented. What such a congress may do for the uplifting of humanity if the women of the world avail themselves of its unique advantages for stating their views of the present conditions of the race, of its struggles, its possibilities, its hopes, is incalculable. The aid which such a congress will give to the solution of the hundreds of problems included in what is massed under the phrase, 'The Woman Question,' is equally beyond measure. Humanity may well entertain eager anxiety regarding the manner in which women will respond to this matchless opportunity.

"In issuing this edition of the preliminary address the committee is able to announce the general themes which will be discussed in this congress. Practically these themes will divide the congress into the following divisions: First, Education; second, Industry; third, Art; fourth, Philanthropy and Charity; fifth, Moral and Social Reform; sixth, Religion; seventh, Civil Law; eighth, Government."

* * * * *

"In the General World's Congress of Representative Women, however, these great subjects will be viewed from a different standpoint, the object of this congress being to discuss, not the subject *per se*, but the relation of the women of the world to the subject."

* * * * *

"What is now necessary is that every society of women into the hands of whose officers this address

may come, shall immediately send to the chairman or to the secretary of the local committee the names of women for the Advisory Council, the names of women best fitted to prepare reports upon the subjects included under the titles above given, and the names of women able to make the addresses to be delivered before the public sessions of the entire congress.

"Every one to whom this preliminary address is sent is further solicited to send suggestions as to subjects, titles of papers, etc., suitable for the programme of this congress. The results of the correspondence carried on by the committee during the last four months are an assurance that the plan of the congress has commended itself to the judgment of women everywhere, has aroused enthusiasm and stirred new hopes. Only six months now remain in which to complete the preparations for this congress, and, therefore, prompt response is solicited to every inquiry, whether made directly or suggested in this appeal."

This document was reprinted from time to time, substantially unchanged so far as it is here reproduced, together with information which would bring its readers up to date in the prospects of the congress. The last edition was prepared and sent broadcast only one month prior to the opening of the congress.

From September, 1892, until the opening of the congress, on May 15th, 1893, an uninterrupted correspondence was carried on between the chairman and the secretary of the Organizing committee and between these officers and the officers of the auxiliary in Chicago. This correspondence was summarized and tabulated at regular intervals and presented at meetings of the Committee of Arrangements, of which four were held at Chicago during this period. These summaries show that from the two offices of the chairman and the secretary between

Sept. 13, 1892, and May 1, 1893, there were sent out 7,198 sealed letters home and foreign, and 55,000 copies of printed documents. That was in addition to communications relating to the congress issued during the same period from the Chicago office—much of the material for which was furnished by Mrs. Sewall and Mrs. Avery.

Besides the countries previously mentioned as having welcomed information about the congress this tireless effort resulted in getting into correspondence with considerable numbers of women in Austria, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Poland, Mexico, Bohemia, Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Guatemala, China, Japan, Iceland, New Zealand, India, Syria, Turkey, New South Wales, Siam, Samoa, and the Sandwich Islands. The books in which the names and addresses of these correspondents are recorded have been carefully preserved and show that, of the 1,169 women in foreign countries with whom letters were actually exchanged, the names of nearly two hundred were later found in connection with council work and, of these, the names of at least fifty-three are to be found in the present rosters of the councils of their respective countries or in the present roster of the International council.

Seven Editions of the programme, *Ten Thousand* copies in each edition, were distributed through the congress week, and this number but inadequately met the demand. A brief abstract of the official report of this first International congress held under council auspices is here given:

“Let it be borne in mind that no one was placed on the Advisory council of this congress whose written permission had not been obtained. Of the *five hundred and twenty-eight persons from twenty-seven* different countries thus serving on the Foreign Advisory council, *two hundred and nine* were also the official representatives of one hundred and twenty-six organizations of women in these countries.

“According to their nationality, these one hundred and twenty-six formal organizations of women may be classified thus:

The United States of America.....	56
Belgium	1
Canada	6
Denmark	2
England	30
Finland	2
France	7
Germany	9
Ireland	1
Italy	1
New South Wales.....	1
Norway	2
Scotland	3
South America.....	1
Sweden	3
Switzerland	1

“According to their respective purposes or objects, the same organizations may be grouped as follows:

Education	11	form	15
Literature and Art ..	5	Civil and Political Re-	
Science	4	form	34
Religion	4	Industry	6
Charity and Philan-		Orders	2
thropy	17	Protective	2
Moral and Social Re-		Miscellaneous	11

“During an entire week from four to twenty meetings were held daily, exclusive of the conference congresses and of the numerous meetings that were improvised. That is, there were held in this one week eighty-one meetings, at each of which a carefully prearranged programme was rendered, besides the meetings held under the auspices of the eight committees on conference and the indefinite number of informal meetings above referred to.

“From Tuesday to Friday, inclusive, there were never less than *seven* nor more than *eighteen* meetings in simultaneous progress. In these meetings three hundred and thirty women contributed addresses or joined in discussions. Adding this number to the four hundred and twenty-six who served only

on the Advisory council, and to the eighty-one women who served only on the different Conference committees, we have a total of eight hundred and thirty-seven different women, whose united efforts secured the success of this congress.*

*"Many women spoke in two or more Congresses or served on two or more Conference Committees; and one hundred and two members of the Advisory Council served the Congress also in other ways but these figures include no duplicate, each woman being counted but once."

"The secretary of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Mr. Clarence Young, has stated that the total attendance upon the meetings above enumerated exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand persons. This seems an excessive estimate; however, the maximum capacity of the Art Palace is ten thousand, and its maximum capacity was taxed by throngs that, filling every room or hall where a meeting was announced, overflowed all these and surged through anterooms and corridors, patiently, or otherwise, waiting the withdrawal of some listener for a chance to obtain standing room in the always crowded aisles.

"The policemen in attendance (of whom there were fifteen) testified that often hundreds of people were sent away long before the hour for opening a meeting arrived.

"In all other (more than a hundred) congresses, fewer women participated than in this one; in all the others combined (excluding possibly the Educational Congresses and the Parliament of Religions) there were fewer listeners. What is the import of these facts?

"It were idle to try to reproduce in print the impressions made by the congress upon the minds of those who were fortunate enough to attend it. One might show photographs of the throngs vainly endeavoring to elbow their way through the packed mass of eager would-be auditors filling the space in front of the Art Palace, crowding the steps and trying to

effect an entrance at the police-guarded doors; of the anterooms filled to suffocation with those who, happy in gaining admittance, but miserable in finding every session room overflowing with earlier arrivals, spent entire sessions in pushing their way from one door to another only to find all doors blocked; of the halls where the flags of all countries of the world float above platforms crowded with distinguished women of a score of nationalities, upon whom were focused the eyes and thoughts of audiences characterized by serious enthusiasm. From all these photographs, however, the color and movement are inevitably lacking.

“One might show diagrams of the rooms wherein standing space was at a premium, and rapt listeners were quite oblivious to the stifling atmosphere, realizing only that it was palpitant with eloquence; but these diagrams would hold small suggestions of the feeling of the occasion.”

The closing paragraph of Mrs. Sewall’s address at the opening of the congress indicates its spirit:

“The educative character of the congress must not be forgotten. Its best work will not be done during sessions; much of it has been done already. The committee can never express the gratitude it owes to the press of foreign countries in disseminating its plans. All of the documents so generously printed at the expense of the United States government have been reproduced in full in the papers of Italy, France, Germany, England, Bohemia, and in abridged form in those of Denmark, Norway, Russia and Finland. Leading journals of all these countries have opened their columns from time to time to notice our letters and appeals in successive order since the first preliminary address was sent out, and have followed their notice of our work with eulogistic editorials, thus commanding it to thousands of women who, although they cannot share the privileges of these sessions,

have already shared the inspiration of the preparations.

"The influences that have mingled in these preparations cannot be enumerated. The Honorable Mr. Bonney told us this morning that seven centuries of human progress were reaching their climax in this series of congresses. With his permission I will say that the influences which are to be gathered up in this congress must include that of Miriam, as she gave instructions to the great leader, Moses, and that of Sappho, as she sat in her proud island home, gathering about her her disciples, those women to whom, with the art of poetry, she imparted also the principles of religion and government.

"I wish I could enumerate all the delegates gathered here at this hour, and to the name of each append a recital of her good works. But could I enumerate all I should close with the name of the only one to whom I shall refer. Sitting upon this platform, to be introduced to you by and by, is a woman who sailed from the Cape of Good Hope; is it not from the Cape of Good Hope?—from that promontory of eternal and boundless aspiration jutting out into the wonderfully radiant waters of infinity, that we set sail today? A great leader marshaling his forces for a mighty battle reminded them that from the heights of the pyramids twenty centuries looked down upon them. Can we not feel today that twenty centuries of aspiration lying back of us find some response in this event, and that twenty centuries of hope fulfilled lying before us, looking back shall find that this congress dates the hour of a new march—not for divided womanhood as against a separate manhood, but a new march for a unified, harmonious, onstepping humanity?"

At the closing session Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery de-

livered an address on "The Relation of Organization to the National and International Councils," the closing paragraphs of which are instructive.

"When, in 1888, delegations of women came to us from seven other countries, and from over forty associations in our own and other lands, May Wright Sewall developed still further the plan, and conceived the magnificent thought of permanent organizations of women, national and international, which should form grand clearing houses for ideas.

"Acted upon by the delegates then present this conception crystallized into the National Council of Women of the United States and the International Council of Women.

"These bodies, officered by leading women of America and of Europe, have been found to be the proper vehicle for expressing the highest attainments of organizations among women. These together, the National and International, have been willing co-workers with the Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary to give to the world the World's Congress of Representative Women.

"To thousands of women the International Council of 1888 came as a revelation, broadening their horizon, uplifting them to higher mental and spiritual planes.

"The Congress of Representative Women should bring this same great boon of mental breadth and uplifting to many thousands more.

"The motto of the National Council of Women of the United States is 'Lead, Kindly Light.' The design is a light upheld by a delicate hand; not a blazing, swiftly-consuming torch, but a light burning quietly and constantly before the altar of humanity, before which the united womanhood of the world pays its tribute.

“What the International Council of Women may come to be is for the future to decide, but when we look back five years and see the immense gain in the organized work of women, we cannot doubt that the prophecy of this meeting is that five years hence there will exist materialized what now exists in the brain of the woman who has managed this congress—‘a great International Congress of Women, composed of delegates from all civilized countries, sitting for a part of each year, considering all questions between nations, throwing the influence of a united womanhood in favor of better conditions for humanity, greater educational opportunities for the world’s children, and in favor of that equality between man and woman which shall give to man the high privilege of living, not with his social and political inferiors, but with his social and political equals, which shall lend its influence toward peace and the healing of the nations.’”

PART V

THE FIRST QUINQUENNIAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

Under the auspices of the committee in charge of the World's Congress of Representative Women suggested by it, arranged by its aid, and held in conjunction with the General Congress, there were also twenty-four "Departmental" and eight "Report" congresses, each of which held two, and some of which required three sessions.

Tentative steps looking toward the organization of National Councils had been taken, not only in France and Canada, as previously narrated, but also such were reported in Finland, Denmark and in Norway and Sweden (acting together). Progress had from time to time been reported from all these countries to the organizers of the First Quinquennial, who were keenly disappointed to find in the end that no firm organization of a Council had resulted except in France. In France there had been organized two National societies—the *Fédération Féministe*, in which 37 societies were united, and *La Soledadé des Femmes*, which perfectly corresponded to the *Executive* body of a *National Council*. These two societies were the first expression in France of a National Council. Of both of these Mme. Bogelot was the formally elected delegate to the First Quinquennial. A majority of the participants in the World's Congress were there as delegates from organizations of their country women, and these were the very organizations by which it was hoped that the initiative in organizing National Councils in their respective countries would be taken.

Therefore, the officers of the American Council made a proposition which the officers of the International Council accepted, to invite all delegates from foreign organizations to sit in the business meetings of the International

Council upon exactly equal terms with the officers of the International and the American Councils.

The following table shows the names of those who took part in the proceedings of these meetings and the country to which each belonged, though more than four times this number were present as witnesses, with perfect liberty to participate.

Australia (New South Wales)	Miss Margaret Windeyer
Bohemia	Mme. Humpal Zeman
Canada	Mrs. Foster Mrs. Hardy Mrs. McDonnell
Denmark	Fröken Kirstine Frederiksen
Finland	Miss Toppelius
France	Mme. Bogelot Mme. Marshall
Germany	Frau Hanna Bieber Böehm Frl. Forster Frl. Schepel (Proxy for Frau Henrietta Schrader)
Great Britain England	Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant Mrs. Bedford-Fenwick Mrs. F. Fenwick Miller
Scotland	Mrs. Margaret V. Parker
Greece	Mme. Collirrhoe Parren

Norway and Sweden

Miss Lundin
Baroness Thorberg-Rappe

United States
of
America

Miss Susan B. Anthony
Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery
Mrs. F. Newbury Bagley
Miss Clara Barton
Mrs. Ella Dietz Clymer
Mrs. May Wright Sewall
Rev. Anna Howard Shaw
Mrs. Zina Young

The Departmental Congress of the International Council of Women was set for May 19.

The minutes show that Mrs. May Wright Sewall presided over all these meetings and that the business of Executive Conferences occupied three sessions. The first being convened in Hall XXIV of the Art Palace at 10 A. M. on May 19th, continued until 12 M. The second session at the same place at 7 P. M. of the same day continued but a few minutes and adjourned to Monday, May 22. The third session was held in a parlor of the Palmer Hotel, where it was called to order at 10 A. M., May 22, and adjourned at 1 P. M.

The business actually transacted at these meetings comprised the election of officers for the Second Quinquennium and such discussions of council motives and methods as would enable those present to take up the organization of councils on their return to their own countries.

The officers elected were:

President—The Countess of Aberdeen.

Vice-President at Large—Mrs. May Wright Sewall.

Recording Secretary—Mme. Maria Martin.

Corresponding Secretary—Mrs. Eva McLaren.

Treasurer—Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg.

Other important measures voted were: (a) That some woman should be named for each unorganized coun-

try, under the title of vice-president or secretary, who should stand in that country for the Council Idea, through whose aid the organization of councils could be pushed.

For this indefinite post, but quite definite purpose, the following were selected after very full discussion:

Bohemia—Mme. Elihka K. Zeernin.

Canada—Mrs. McDonnell.

Belgium—Mlle. Marie Popelin.

China—Lady A. Hok.

Denmark—Miss Ida Falbe Hansen.

Germany—Frl. Augusta Schmidt.

Italy—Mme. Zampini Salazar.

India—Pundita Ramabai.

Japan—Miss Umé Tsuda.

Korea—The Queen.

Portugal—Mrs. Manney.

Norway—Miss Henrietta Wolfburg, Miss Ragna Neilson.

New Zealand—Mrs. Ellen Ballance.

Sandwich Islands—Queen Liliokulani.

In respect to Russia, by vote, the selection, through correspondence, was left with Mrs. Sewall, who subsequently secured Dr. Philosofoff.

Spain—Countess of Veragua.

Switzerland—Mme. Vignier.

Brazil—Mme. Quesada.

Syria—Mme. Hanna Korany.

The public session of the Departmental Congress of the International Council was held on May 19th, opening at 7:45 P. M. and adjourning at 10:45 P. M.

The speakers at this first public meeting of the International Council convened *under its own name* were:

Fröken Kirstine Frederiksen, Denmark; Mrs. Margaret V. Parker, Scotland; Mme. Isabelle Bogelot, France; Frau Hanna Biber Boehm, Germany; Mme. Calirrhoë Parren, Greece; Mrs. May Wright Sewall, United States of America.

The entire session was devoted to the exposition and discussion of internationalism under the title: "The Value of the Council Idea." The final paragraph of the address with which Mrs. Sewall closed this meeting, conveys the spirit of the meetings and the conception of the Council's character, and function entertained at that time.

"The National Council is a republic composed of National organizations, each standing for a separate purpose. The International Council is a republic composed of National Councils. We who believe in this National and International Council Idea see, as its ultimate incarnation, a **PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF WOMEN**, with its meetings at regularly appointed intervals, where not only the questions which are supposed peculiarly to concern womanhood shall be discussed, but where all the great questions that concern humanity shall be discussed from the woman's point of view. Such an **INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT of WOMEN** is the logical outcome, the necessary evolution of such a meeting as we have held during the past week. The hearts of all the greatest women of all nations represented here are fired with this conception. They will be lured on by this ideal until it shall have been realized, and the next ideal to captivate the imaginations and compel the activities of the true leaders of society will be the **INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT of MEN and WOMEN, WHEREIN WILL BE LEGISLATED THE QUESTIONS THAT CONCERN THE WORLD.**"

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN HONOR OF THE COUNCIL IN 1893.

Acquaintance was promoted by sociability and numerous opportunities for the strangers that had been

drawn from the ends of the earth to meet, were found in small social entertainments, teas, luncheons, etc., so numerous that hosts and businesses may not be enumerated.

Conspicuously large and brilliant receptions were given by the Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition, by the West End Women's Club of Chicago, and by the Chicago Woman's Club, while the National Council of Women of the United States gave to the officers of the International council and to all foreign delegates attending the congress a banquet at Hotel Richelieu, which was enlivened by the presence of a few gentlemen who were included in the list of those responding to toasts.

PART VI

FURTHER NURTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL IDEA THROUGH HOSPITALITY AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST QUINQUENNIAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

It would seem that, coincident with the election of officers of the International Council of Women for the Second Quinquennium, might have been the dismissal of the American Council as nurse of internationalism.

Not so! In December, 1892, Mrs. Potter Palmer, representing the Board of Lady Managers, had sent a favorable reply to the petition through which the American Council had asked for an assignment of space in the Organization Room of the Woman's Building for purposes thus described in the formal application formulated by Mrs. Sewall.

“The wall space of the room which we hope you will assign us will be occupied by a system of charts and tables clearly setting forth the origin, objects and numerical strength of the National Council and of all associations belonging to it, as well as of all National associations outside of it which wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to make corresponding exhibits.

“The floor space will be used for permanent desk room for the Council; desk room for the separate organizations composing it will be distributed among them by the Council, and this privilege will be shared by organizations outside of the Council, in so far as they wish to avail themselves of it.

“The room will be a meeting place for all women, American or foreign, regardless of their present relations to organized work, or to the Councils, National or International; where they may meet to discuss the principles underlying organization and their various applications.”

At the executive session of the Departmental Congress of the National Council of U. S. A., held on May 22, 1893, a motion, introduced by Mrs. Avery, was unanimously voted, by which—quoting from the minutes:

“Mrs. Sewall was appointed a committee of one on the management of the headquarters to be established in the space that had been assigned the Council in the Woman’s Building by the Board of Lady Managers.”

As soon as the Woman’s Building was ready for occupancy the Council Headquarters, equipped as above indicated, was opened to visitors and kept open continuously from June 12th to Nov. 1st, 1893. A curator was in charge daily from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Serving in this capacity successively were two young women, particularly adapted to a task requiring winning manners, a friendly spirit, untiring interest in their visitors, enthusiasm for the cause they served, indefatigable zeal in distributing literature and accuracy in keeping records.

Miss Ethel Rondthaler was in charge from June 12th to August 1st. Mrs. Meda S. Brown from August 1st to Nov. 1st.

That this unique room, with its agreeable outlook and environment, its curiosity provoking walls, its polite attendants and its easy chairs should be thronged with visitors is not surprising.

From a report of the international work done in the room, submitted by Mrs. Sewall at a meeting of the Executive of the National Council, convened in Philadelphia May 7th, 1894, the following paragraph is quoted:

“TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

“From the time that the National Council of Women of the United States was established in the Organization Room of the Woman’s Building at the

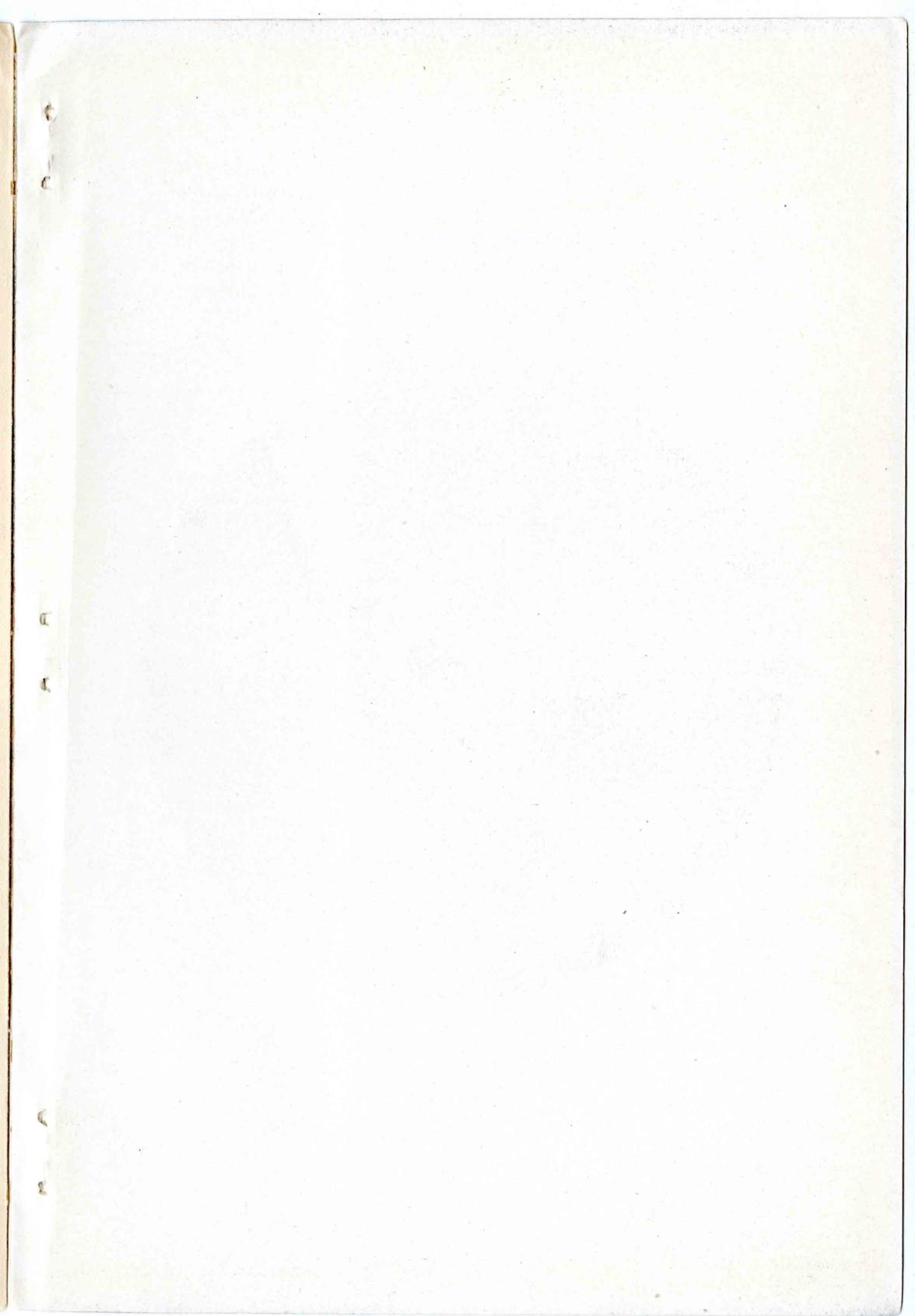
Columbian Exposition with a curator in charge, that is, from June 12, over seven thousand visitors registered their names and addresses in our books. The curators estimate that only from one-fourth to one-half of the number of people who have visited the room have registered. Thus we can infer that from twenty thousand to thirty thousand, in round numbers, have inspected our banners and have given a more or less cursory examination of the objects and methods of our work, as set forth in our exhibit. Of our registered visitors only two hundred bear both foreign names and foreign addresses. The greater portion of these came to our headquarters during the hours from two to four, which I, with the exception of only two days, spent daily in the Council space from July 1st to September 20th. A large majority of my Council visitors came to talk over the Council Idea, and to discuss the best means for organizing the work of women in their respective countries or of bringing the organizations already effected into relations with the International Council, the work of which, as well as that of the National Council, I tried to set forth in brief addresses and long conversations during those twelve weeks."

A series of over one hundred congresses filled the months following the adjournment of the World's Congress of Representative Women. To enable Mrs. Sewall to use all the opportunities thus afforded for diffusing her conception of the Internationalism that might be fostered by women Mr. Sewall took a house in Chicago for those five months, and in a simple American home Mr. and Mrs. Sewall held a series of receptions on the successive Wednesday evenings of this entire period at which were assembled guests of all nationalities, both men and women, someone being chosen each evening to present the attitude of his or her own country toward the general proposition of international co-operation.

Here, also, Mrs. Sewall gave a series of international luncheons—to women only—taking pains to bring together representatives of nations least alike or having least knowledge of each other and least sympathy, in order to prove that the women of no two countries were so dissimilar as to their positions, interests and aspirations that they might not profitably unite to secure the promotion of their common desires.

Comparing Mrs. Sewall's guest book of that period with the rosters of National Councils since organized—one encounters so many names duplicated in the two lists that one cannot question that between the two there exists the vital relation of cause and effect.

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The cuts of the Medal and the Diploma awarded by the United States Government on the recommendation of the Jury assigned to the study of Organizations at the Columbian Exposition in 1893 may fitly conclude this record of the First Quinquennium of the International Council of Women.





